174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554, born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.
727]

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [591 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⵉⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it. [586]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] [605] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8) which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Gerres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1928a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

1 [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:—

1 mat tent (*ihen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*iddabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 591 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence, cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.

581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	14
No blood-relationship	8
Marriages total	39

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

582 591

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *téreljek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.